

Message Text

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ACTION SS-30

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INFO AMEMBASSY ATHENS IMMEDIATE

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AMEMBASSY NICOSIA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW IMMEDIATE

USMISSION NATO IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L USUN 2515

EXDIS

DEPT PASS SECRETARY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: UNSC, PFOR, CY, TU, GR

SUBJ: CYPRUS IN SECURITY COUNCIL: DEVELOPMENT OF RES

1. WHEN U.S. DELEGATION ARRIVED FOR SC MEETING 0930 JULY 20 WITH TEXT OF RESOLUTION COMPRISING (1) CEASE FIRE, (2) NEGOTIATIONS OF PARTIES AT BRITISH INVITATION, AND (3) COOPERATION WITH UNFICYP, WE FOUND TURKS ACTIVELY LOBBYING AGAINST ANY CEASE FIRE. SOVIETS INSISTING ON SC CONSIDERATION OF RESOLUTION TABLED PREVIOUS EVENING (JULY 19) AND DRAFT RESOLUTION OF NON-PERMS CALLING FOR CEASE FIRE.

2. AGREEMENT ACHIEVED TO IN MARRY U.S. AND NON-PERM DRAFT, BUT NON-PERMS BEGAN TO WILT UNDER SOVIET INSISTENCE THAT PREVIOUS RESOLUTION WOULD HAVE TO BE VOTED UPON FIRST AND THAT SOVIETS DID NOT HAVE INSTRUCTIONS ON QNY CEASE FIRE RESOLUTION. SOVIETS WORKED CLOSELY WITH CYPRIOT DELEGATION LED BY PERMREP ROSSIDES.

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3. WHEN IMPASSE APPEARED INEVITABLE, FRENCH PERMREP DE

GUIRINGAUD STARTED CONSULTATIONS TO MERGE RESOLUTION
TABLED JULY 19 WITH MERGED US/NON-PERM DRAFT. WITHDRAWAL
PARAGRAPH AND CYPRIOT EFFORT TO ACHIEVE FREQUENT REFERENCES
TO MAKARIOS AND LEGITIMACY HIS GOVERNMENT BECAME MAJOR
OBSTACLES. WHEN FRENCH CONSULTED WITH SOVIETS, ROSSIDES
WAS ALSO PRESENT, AND SOVIETS TOLD DE GUIRINGAUD THEY
WOULD ACCEPT ANYTHING THE CYPRIOTS WOULD ACCEPT. BRITISH
THEN TOOK OVER DE GUIRINGAUD'S FUNCTION, AFTER HE WAS
INFORMED OF UNFAVORABLE U.S. VIEWS, AND HAMMERED OUT WITH
ROSSIDES WHAT BECAME NEW LANGUAGE FOR WITHDRAWAL
PARAGRAPH.

4. AT THIS POINT EITHER US CEASE FIRE DRAFT OR US/
NON-PERM DRAFT WOULD HAVE BEEN TABLED IN COUNCIL, BUT
DRAFT TABLED PREVIOUS DAY WOULD HAVE HAD PRIORITY. WE ARE
CERTAIN THAT SOVIETS WOULD HAVE ATTEMPTED TO DELAY
CONSIDERATION OF ANY CEASE FIRE DRAFT FOLLOWING CERTAIN
ADOPTION JULY 19 DRAFT. THEREFORE, WE HAD NO ASSURANCES THAT
COUNCIL WOULD SUBSEQUENTLY MOVE AHEAD IMMEDIATELY ON
CEASE FIRE RESOLUTION.

5. WE CONSIDERED SEEKING PRIORITY FOR A CEASE FIRE
DRAFT, BUT THERE WAS ENOUGH FAVORABLE SENTIMENT IN COUNCIL TO
GIVE JULY 19 DRAFT PRIORITY WE PROBABLY WOULD HAVE BEEN
DEFEATED, WHICH PSYCHOLOGICALLY WOULD HAVE BEEN A
SEVERE BLOW FOR EFFECTIVE CEASE FIRE RESOLUTION.
AT NO POINT WAS ANY DELEGATION OTHER THAN THE US
WILLING TO ABSTAIN OR VOTE NO ON JULY 19 DRAFT WITH ITS
WITHDRAWAL LANGUAGE AIMED SPECIFICALLY AT GREEKS --
NOTWITHSTANDING FACT JULY 19 DRAFT OUT OF DATE IN LIGHT
TURKISH INTERVENTION.

6. THEREFORE, WITH UNDERSTANDING THAT OUR
ADDITIONAL LANGUAGE PARA 2, I.E. "AND REQUESTS ALL STATES
TO EXERCISE THE UTMOST RESTRAINT AND TO REFRAIN FROM
ANY ACTION WHICH MIGHT FURTHER AGGRAVATE THE SITUATION"
WOULD BE INCLUDED, THAT DRAFT WOULD NOT FURTHER BE CHANGED,
AND THAT JULY 19 DRAFT WITHDRAWN, WE INDICATED OUR SUPPORT.

7. WE WOULD MAKE FOLLOWING GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ABOUT
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DEVELOPMENTS TODAY:

A. FACT THAT BRITISH WERE ALWAYS WILLING TO ACCEPT SOME
FORM OF JULY 19 DRAFT, INCLUDING WITHDRAWAL FORMULA,
MATERIALLY DECREASED OUR LEVERAGE.

B. AS THEY HAVE SO OFTEN IN THE PAST, THE NON-PERMS
MEMBERS WERE INTIMIDATED BY WHAT WE BELIEVE WAS A SOVIET

BLUFF.

C. SOVIETS WORKED IN CLOSE HARMONY WITH CYPRIOTS, THROUGHOUT THE DAY, EVEN AT THE LAST MINUTE CHECKING WITH ARCHBISHOP HIMSELF BY PHONE TO MAKE SURE HE ACCEPTED RESOLUTION. PERMREP ROSSIDES SHOWED HIMSELF MORE THAN WILLING COLLABORATOR OF SOVIETS.

D. EVEN THOSE WHO SHARE OUR VIEWS GENERALLY WERE WILLING TO GO AHEAD WITH UNSATISFACTORY LANGUAGE IN ORDER MEET ROSSIDES PLEAS THUS ENSURING SECURITY COUNCIL WOULD ACT ONLY IN WAY REAFFIRMING MAKARIOS BY NAME.

8. UNDER THE CIRCUMSTANCES, I AM CONVINCED WE EMERGED WITH GOOD RESULT. FACT THAT WE HAD A DRAFT FIRST THING THIS MORNING MATERIALLY ENHANCED OUR CREDIBILITY AND ENABLED US TO NEGOTIATE FROM STRONGER POSITION THAN MIGHT OTHERWISE HAVE BEEN THE CASE.
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